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Routing Form

Doc. No.:

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Indicate title of person to take action and that of the originator. Place comments there under by numbered paragraphs. Initial in center of page and draw a line across the page and forward. Each recipient is to repeat above procedure until action completed and ready for filing. This cover-sheet must be retained with enclosure.

**CIA HISTORICAL REVIEW PROGRAM
RELEASE AS SANITIZED**

TO:

FROM:

DATE:

Executive

2003

24 May 1954

Agree on this general concept
however the subject is more complex
and so far as our responsibilities go
should be translated in terms of more
precise planning as contemplated in our
"Consolidation Program".

Believe this suffices as a primer;
in view of the fact that other echelons
+ agencies must take the action
anyway. Suggest C/P drop in
Coord Committee, Hopper and we await
requests for further amplification

File somewhere, please

PP file
[new folder:
CONSOLIDATION]

CIA HISTORICAL REVIEW PROGRAM
RELEASE AS SANITIZED

1999

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RYBAT/FBSUCCESS

24 May 1954

MEMORANDUM FOR: DC/P, C/P

SUBJECT : Consolidation of New Guatemalan Regime

1. The task of consolidating the new Guatemalan regime falls into two parts:

a. Duties devolving on the Guatemalans. This is currently being discussed with [] and will be covered in a later memorandum.

b. Duties devolving upon ODYOKE. These form the subject of the present memorandum.

2. The duties devolving upon ODYOKE are:

a. Diplomatic recognition of the new government. ODACID must clearly take the lead in recognizing the new government, not only because other Hemisphere nations expect it, but also because such early recognition will capitalize most effectively on the overt moves that ODYOKE has made against the Guatemalan Communists. Early recognition by ODACID could do much to re-affirm ODYOKE leadership in the Hemisphere. (The cover and deception requirements of covert action should be satisfied by other means and should not be allowed to hamper early overt recognition.) Action: ODACID

b. Economic and technical assistance. There should not be extension of American economic aid and technical assistance to Guatemala alone; this could be interpreted by other Central American and Hemisphere countries as "rewarding" a recently Communist and aggressive nation, without corresponding help to nations that never were Communist. There should be an over-all economic aid and technical assistance program for all Central America, as recommended in LINC 2885. Action: ODACID and FOA.

c. Coordination of UFCO Action. Immediate conversations should be initiated with the UFCO, with a view toward coordinating ODACID and UFCO action in the consolidation period. Specifically, UFCO should be advised that ODACID will not support UFCO requests with diplomatic notes during the early months of the new government; while it was necessary and proper for ODACID

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to support UFCO against a Communist government, it will be improper for ODACID to make the same demands of an anti-Communist government. Likewise, UFCO should be asked not to mortgage the political viability of the new regime by pressing its claims too soon. Rather, as JMBLUG has recommended, UFCO should await the call of the new government to a joint parley; in view of the influence that pro-UFCO elements and individuals will have in the new government ([] SUPERIOR, etc.) the UFCO should be able to await and join in such a parley with equanimity. It may be advisable for the parley to agree to turn over the Guatemalan-UFCO dispute to an impartial commission, chosen by the parties to the dispute. It may also be advisable for the new government to levy promptly the increased taxes that the UFCO has declared itself willing to pay; then the issue of compensation for expropriated land can be masked by the tax "victory" of the new government; compensation might actually be made in the form of taxes lower than they would be otherwise. Action: ODACID.

d. Labor leadership. The AFL, either acting through the ORIT or independently, should be urged to send immediately a highly qualified team of labor instructors to assist anti-Communist Guatemalan labor leaders in the purging and re-organization of both urban and rural unions. These instructors should be men willing and able to cooperate with the Catholic Church in Guatemala. Action: ODACID-KUBARK.

e. Special Security Commission. A special team of qualified personnel should be dispatched to Guatemala, on request from the new government, to assist the new government in the detection and elimination of all Communists and pro-Communists from positions of influence in Guatemala. This mission should have its costs shared between the two governments. Action: ODACID to secure the request from the new Guatemalan government, KUBARK to prepare and dispatch the team.

[]

C]

CONSOLIDATION PHASE

I. Civil Aid

A. Purpose: Civil Aid immediately following hostilities will obtain the good-will and restore the confidence of large segments of the population. A secondary purpose is to alleviate authentic hardship cases caused by civil strife.

B. Program: Soup kitchens should be set up in urban centers, at first under the auspices of the SYNCARP Army. Low cost meals would be provided, consisting of frijoles, tortillas and the like. Beer and cigars would be made available to our partisans. Reconstituted milk should be dispensed to children and old people. Eventually this program could be taken over by the Guatemalan Red Cross, perhaps with F.O.A. surpluses and assistance.

C. Another phase of Civil Aid is medical assistance.

Program: Requisitioned trucks with a Red Cross banner on the side panels would be used as ambulances where regular ambulances were not available. Additional panel trucks loaded with medical supplies should be procured now and readied for shipment. When shipped, the trucks should contain sound amplifying equipment, wall stickers and posters appropriate to the consolidation task. They need not be actual ambulances, but their appearance should give the populace an impression of substantial preparation by SYNCARP. Army and civilian doctors would be commandeered to care for the wounded and to provide emergency medical assistance to the population.

At least one phase of the medical service should be Public Health; specifically the prevention of epidemic disease. Reservoirs and large sources of water supply should be guarded by armed units and the purity of the water should be maintained by constant analysis. It must be recognized that during the first few days following the Consolidation Civil Aid will be primarily an internal matter, although the American Red Cross as well as the Red Cross organizations of contiguous countries also can be readied to provide relief.

II. Political Consolidation

- A. Purpose: To obtain and ensure the political loyalty of a large mass of the people (as well as the Army) towards the program of the new government.
- B. Program:
 - 1. Purge of the Army: SYNCARP sympathizers should be advanced; others should be placed on probation, neutralized, exiled or executed. A program of Information and Education should be immediately established for all troops, explaining to them in detail the genesis of the Revolution.
 - 2. Political Purge: Conspirators who survive the fighting should be given an early and brief trial which should be prevented from becoming a sounding board (as in the unfortunate case of Mossadegh's trial). Death of some of the men in prison would diminish disposal problems.
 - 3. Diplomats who refuse to return from their posts abroad should

the [redacted] be exiled and indicted in accordance with the law. If AREVALO is outside the country at the time of the takeover he will undoubtedly refuse to return. His lands thereupon should be confiscated and declared government property. The assistance of the U.S. Treasury Dept. and the [redacted] should be obtained in freezing his personal assets, looking toward their reclamation by SYNCARP. The presumption is made that at the onset of the action the United States Government will immediately freeze all known Guatemalan assets and will encourage other interested countries to do likewise.

C. Passports

All passports should immediately be declared invalid, with temporary revalidation to take place through presentation to new consular authorities abroad and to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Guatemala City. As soon as possible the passport format will be changed in a distinctive manner to avoid ~~any~~ fraudulent revalidation by forged cachet. This will curtail travel of Guatemalans now outside the homeland and control entry and departure of Guatemalan citizens.

D. Propaganda

1. During Consolidation Phase, SYNCARP propagandists should have available the facilities of radio, air-dropped leaflets, newspapers, handbills, sound trucks and posters. Through all these media wide publicity should be given to the Program announced by SYNCARP. The economic fate of the populace will be the question of the day, and through controlled means that question should immediately be answered. Statements should go out concerning agrarian

benefits and the future of the coffee and fruit industries. Patriotic music should hark back to pre-AREVALO times and much should be made of traditional non-Communist heroes. Where possible, quotes from national non-Communist heroes should be used to justify the change in government and its subsequent political actions. Sound trucks should have a supply of ready-cut discos for continuous use, inasmuch as the supply of professional speakers immediately available in behalf of SYNCARP will be extremely limited. Records covering patriotic music and such nostalgic melodies as "La Marimba" should also be stocked for sound truck crews.

2. It is recommended that [] be contacted with reference to the forthcoming coup. He has written widely on communism in the Western Hemisphere, was expelled from Guatemala, and is believed to be discreet by many who have had professional dealings with him. [] is a member of the "Inter-American Press Association," a group headed by Dr. Alberto GAINZA PAZ, former publisher of a Prensa in Buenos Aires. This group is currently studying and advising how to prevent or counter attacks on freedom of the press in the Western Hemisphere. [] conceivably could influence the group to examine the situation of the "free press" in Guatemala and make appropriate findings.

SYNCARP should receive the benefit of ^{early} ~~the~~ Press ~~Association's~~ approbation. ~~The chairman of the~~

~~Association's executive committee is Dr. Alberto GAINZA PAZ, publisher of the Hartford, Connecticut Courant, a leading liberal group.~~

~~_____~~
~~_____~~ Efforts should be made by Headquarters to have certain distinguished press representatives sent to Guatemala ^{particularly those} ~~_____~~ known to be favorable to the Free World cause.

3. SYNCARP will of course have to appoint new diplomatic representatives around the world but much of this activity will depend upon State's success with the pre-coup political action program aimed at early recognition in Latin America and elsewhere in the free world of SYNCARP.